

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L PRETORIA 3464

NODIS CHEROKEE

FROM LOW

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PDEV, RH

SUBJECT: RHODESIA

1. I HAVE THE FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON THE ACCOUNTS OF
DR OWEN'S MEETINGS WITH JOSHUA NKOMO, SHOWN ME BY JOHNNY
GRAHAM.

2. EVERYTHING I HAVE HEARD RECENTLY CONFIRMS
THE VIEW THAT NKOMO STANDS HEAD AND SHOULDERS
ABOVE THE OTHER ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS.
PRESIDENT KHAMA CONFIRMED THIS YESTERDAY. WE KNOW
KAUNDA BELIEVES IT, AS DOES NETO. FROM COMMENTS IN
MAPUTO FROM VIEIRA I THINK EVEN MACHEL PROBABLY DOES.
MOST OF THE WHITES IN RHODESIA BELIEVE A SETTLEMENT WOULD BE
DIFFICULT WITHOUT HIM. THE OTHER NATIONALIST LEADERS,
OF COURSE, FEAR AND DISTRUST HIM, BUT RESPECT HIS
FORCEFUL PERSONALITY.

3. BOTH JOHN GRAHAM AND I BELIEVE THAT CHINAMANO'S
DESCRIPTION OF THE PROBLEMS WITHIN THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT
OVERSTATES THE CASE. IT IS NOT GOING WELL, BUT IT
IS FAR FROM FALLING APART AND HE IGNORES AN IMPORTANT
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POINT. IF THE INTERNAL NATIONALISTS ARE NOT GIVEN WHAT
THEY CONSIDER A FAIR CHANCE IN AN ELECTION OR A SETTLEMENT
(NATIONAL UNITY GOVERNMENT), THEY WILL CERTAINLY GO
THROUGH WITH THE MARCH 3 PLAN MODIFYING DISCRIMINATORY
LEGISLATION, HOLDING THEIR ELECTION AND INSTALLING A
NEW GOVERNMENT WHICH WILL HAVE SIGNIFICANT INTERNAL
SUPPORT EVEN IF IT MAY NOT BE ABLE TO STAND UP OVER THE

LONG TERM AGAINST A PATRIOTIC FRONT SUPPORTED BY THE
FRONTLINE AND COMMUNISTS.

4. NKOMO IS UNDERTAKING AN AMBITIOUS PROJECT. HE
APPEARS TO WANT TO ORGANIZE THE SETTLEMENT ON THE BASIS OF
HIS PERSONAL FORCE AND FRONTLINE SUPPORT. IN MY VIEW, IT
WILL TAKE MORE THAN THIS. HE IS GOING TO HAVE TO PAY A
HIGHER PRICE THAN HE HAS SO FAR INDICATED HE IS WILLING
TO DO. I DO NOT BELIEVE MUZOREWA WILL COME ALONG JUST
BECAUSE HE IS WORRIED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS OF THE INTERNAL
SETTLEMENT. HE WILL HAVE TO BE GIVEN SOMETHING.
(I KEEP WONDERING WHETHER THAT COULDN'T BE TITULAR
PRESIDENT WITH NKOMO HAVING THE REAL POWER AS PRIME MINISTER).
IT IS NOT CLEAR WHAT NKOMO HAS IN MIND WITH REGARD TO MUGABE
AND TONGOGARA. I PERSONALLY BELIEVE HE HAD A HAND IN THE
REVOLT OF HAMADZIRIPI, GUMBO, MUDZI, ETC., WHICH
FAILED. THIS TIME HIS INTENTIONS APPEAR SOMEWHAT MORE
HONORABLE SINCE HE WANTS TO WORK THROUGH MACHEL THOUGH THERE
MAY BE MORE TO IT THAN THIS. (THERE IS A REPORT THAT TINY
ROWLAND WAS INVOLVED IN THE HAMADZIRIPI AFFAIR.) THERE
APPEARED TO HAVE BEEN MANY DEFECTIONS LATELY FROM MUZOREWA TO
MUGABE INSIDE RHODESIA. THUS, IT IS GOING TO BE DIFFICULT
FOR NKOMO TO EXERT INFLUENCE ON MUGABE TONGOGARA AT A TIME
WHEN THEY ARE FEELING GROWING STRENGTH, EVEN IF NKOMO
HAS MACHEL'S HELP. USE OF NETO BY NKOMO FOR SUPPORT IS
INTERESTING. THEY ARE OLD FRIENDS AND THEIR LONG-STANDING
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RELATIONSHIP WILL BE STRENGTHENED BY THE SOVIET COMMITMENT
TO BOTH OF THEM AND THEIR MUTUAL DEPENDENCE ON SOVIET
MATERIAL SUPPORT. IT IS STILL DIFFICULT TO
SEE HOW NKOMO CAN TURN NETO'S INFLUENCE ON MACHEL INTO
EFFECTIVE PRESSURE ON MUGABE AND TONGOGARA.

5. I SEE ONLY TWO CONCERNS IN FURTHER PURSUIT OF NKOMO'S
PROPOSAL. THE PLAN HE OUTLINES WILL TAKE MORE TIME THAN WE
HAD ENVISAGE. HE IS TALKING ABOUT A CONFERENCE IN AUGUST.
I AM CONCERNED THAT IF WE DO NOT HAVE A CONFERENCE LINED UP
IN JULY THE OPPORTUNITY MAY PASS US BY AND THE TWO SIDES BE
COMMITTED INEXORABLY TO CONFRONTATION PATHS. MY OTHER
CONCERN IS OVER OUR INVOLVEMENT IN A PROPOSAL WHICH COULD DELAY
ELECTIONS FOR THREE OR FOUR YEARS. HOWEVER, THE PROBLEM
WILL REALLY BE MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE BRITISH THAN FOR US
BECAUSE OF THEIR "FIFTH PRINCIPLE" AND BECAUSE THEY WILL
HAVE TO TAKE POSITIVE ACTION TO VALIDATE THE PLAN,
SINCE THEY WILL HAVE TO CLOTHE IT WITH LEGALITY.
BUT WE WOULD BE INVOLVED THROUGH OUR SPONSORSHIP OF A
CONFERENCE THAT RATIFIED IT. NEVERTHELESS I BELIEVE PEACE
AND AGREEMENT BETWEEN ALL PARTIES WOULD BE WORTH THE PRICE.
ALL-PARTIES AGREEMENT WOULD CERTAINLY BE STRONG INDICATION

OF BROAD POPULAR SUPPORT. HOWEVER, IT WOULD NOT WORK IF A SIGNIFICANT GROUP (EITHER MUZOREWA OR ZANU/MUGABE) STAYED OUT. SITHOLE OR CHIRAU WOULD NOT BE AS CRUCIAL.

6. IN SPITE OF THE FORMIDABLE OBSTACLES BLOCKING NKOMO'S PLAN AND THE CONCERNS IT RAISES, IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT SUCH EXPLORATIONS ARE UNDERWAY. THEY GIVE EVIDENCE OF A DESIRE FOR ACCOMMODATION AND CREATE A FLUIDITY WHICH CAN BENEFIT OUR OWN EFFORTS. I BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE DR. OWEN AND NKOMO TO PURSUE HIS PLAN.

7. WHETHER OR NOT NKOMO IS SUCCESSFUL, THERE WILL HAVE TO BE AN ALL-PARTIES CONFERENCE. I THEREFORE BELIEVE THAT WE SHOULD PUSH AHEAD IN OUR EFFORTS TO CONVENE AN ALL-PARTIES CONFIDENTIAL

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MEETING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. IN THIS EFFORT, JOHN AND I WILL CONCENTRATE ON WHAT WE CONSIDER TO BE THE SOFTER SPOTS OF THE PICTURE. THESE ARE THE SOUTH AFRICANS WHOM WE WILL SEE ON WEDNESDAY, IN PRETORIA AND, IN SALISBURY, IAN AND DAVID SMITH AND MUZOREWA. I BELIEVE THE PRESSURE ON THEM IS GROWING AND THAT WE CAN MAKE PROGRESS DURING THE FORTHCOMING WEEK. A TWO-TRACK EFFORT IS DESIRABLE. IF NKOMO SUCCEEDS, WE HAVE THE CONFERENCE READY. IF HE DOESN'T, WE WILL HAVE TO GO AHEAD WITH OUR PLAN TO FASHION AN ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES FROM A MODIFIED ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSAL. EDMONDSON

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